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Earl Cornwallis, and Sir George Brydges Rodney, Bart.

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*Closts her fond playful infant to her breast,
Then drops a tear, sweet Peace! for thy return.*

LONDON,

Sold by *W. Davis*, on Ludgate Hill; *J. Walter*, at Charing Cross; and Messieurs *Richardson* and *Urquhart*, at the Royal Exchange.



TO

Jonas Hanway, Esquire,

WHILE I was attempting in the following sheets, with ardent zeal, though with humble abilities, to recommend a spirit of *Concord*, *Patriotism*, and *Religion*, to my fellow citizens, a LIVING EXAMPLE of the beauty and utility of these virtues strongly presented itself; and these little pieces, had they been worthy of it, should have been dedicated to You, as a mark of the esteem of

London,
Octob. 1780.

the AUTHOR.

TO THE HONORABLE SENATE

OF THE UNITED STATES
IN SENATE, January 11, 1871.
REPORT
OF THE
COMMISSIONERS OF THE
LAND OFFICE
IN RESPONSE TO A
RESOLUTION PASSED
BY THE SENATE
MAY 10, 1869.
WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE,
1871.

AN ADDRESS

TO THE

INHABITANTS of *London and Westminster*;

CONTAINING

REFLECTIONS on the PRESENT STATE

of PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

IN a time of distress and danger, the lover of his country will not enfeeble its efforts by the language of despondence, but rouse the fortitude and magnanimity which command success, or render misfortune honourable: He will say with *Scævola*—Bravely to *suffer* as well as *act*—is the part of a Roman!

The difficulties of the nation are undoubtedly great, its enemies numerous: But is not this, with a brave people, an argument not for depression, but for more union and vigour? I will tell you, fellow citizens, of an enemy more dangerous than any *foreign one*:—It is he who endeavours to spread a panic in the hour of danger, who exhorts us to lay down our arms, or to turn them against one another!

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We are fond of comparing the spirit of this nation with that of Rome. Let us therefore see what was her conduct in a season of similar danger. Let us learn by her example not to sink under calamities, but to surmount them!

In the year of *Rome* 472, the *Tarentini* having excited all Italy to revolt against her, solicited *Pyrrhus* king of Epirus, the most distinguished general of his time, with an army instructed in the Grecian discipline, to their assistance. This formidable Prince accepted the invitation; but before he began hostilities, sent the following letter to *Lævinus* the Roman Consul:—"I am informed that you command an
 " army which is to make war with the *Tarentini*.
 " Disband it without delay, and then come and lay
 " your pretensions before me. After I have heard
 " both parties, I will give judgement; and I know
 " how to make my sentence be obeyed."

To this *Lævinus* answered:—"Know, *Pyrrhus*!
 " that we neither admit you as a judge, nor fear you
 " as an enemy. Does it become you to take upon
 " you to judge us, who have yourself injured us by
 " landing in Italy, without our consent? We will
 " have no arbitrator but *Mars*, the author of our
 " race and protector of our arms."

On this *Pyrrhus* commenced the war with some success; but the obstinate valour of the Romans overbalanced his discipline, filled him with awe, and at length induced him to send *Cyneas* his favourite to

Rome

Rome with proposals of peace. These the magnanimous senate rejected, and unanimously passed this decree: "That the war with Pyrrhus be continued; that his ambassador be sent back this very day; that the king of Epirus be not permitted to come to Rome; and that he be told that the senate will enter into no treaty with him *till he has left Italy.*" Cyneas quitted Rome the same day, and returned to Tarentum; and when Pyrrhus asked of him his opinion of the city and senate, he answered, "Rome is a kind of temple, where gravity, modesty, and decency reign. The senate is a consistory of kings, whose appearance fills all spectators with awe and reverence."

Pyrrhus renewed the war with vigour; but, finding the Roman fortitude unconquerable, withdrew his troops from Italy, and left his allies to be subdued by the enemy*.

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* We have also in the first Punic war a striking instance of the public spirit which rendered Rome invincible. The greatest part of the ships of the republic had been taken or destroyed by the Carthaginians, or perished in storms. The senate, convinced that it would be impossible to establish their dominion in *Sicily*, while Carthage was mistress of the seas, determined, in the year of Rome 510, to build a new fleet; but the difficulty was how to find money for such an undertaking, as the public treasury was exhausted. Upon this occasion the senators gave an example to the rest of the citizens of a zeal for their country's service. The richest of them built each a *quinqueremis* at his own cost. Others taxed themselves at so much a head, and a gally was fitted out at the joint expence of three or four; and, in short, a fleet of two hundred *quinqueremes* was thus put to sea, by private citizens, without asking any thing of the republic, but to be reimbursed

The *Patriots* of the present day have distinguished themselves chiefly by a zeal to depress the spirit of the nation, to depreciate its success, to aggravate its misfortunes, and to spread terror and dismay.—How different was the conduct of the Roman Patriots !

When Hannibal with his victorious army over-ran Italy, the senate ordered the sale of some lands which were in the possession of the enemy ; as if no such invasion had taken place, and the empire had been in perfect peace and security.

How unlike to *modern patriotism* was the conduct of the gallant Scipio, who, after the fatal battle of Cannæ, in which the Romans lost 45,000 men, among whom were many officers of distinction, when Hannibal's victorious army was expected at the gates of Rome, hearing that some of the young nobility were prepared in despondence to leave Italy, flew to them, drew his sword, and addressing Cæcilius Metellus their leader, said—" I call the great Jupiter
 " to witness, that I never will depart my country,
 " nor will I suffer any man else to do it ! This I
 " solemnly swear ; and do you, Cæcilius, either take
 " the same oath, or die !"

At this dangerous crisis, Rome had her *Fabius* also, whose love to his country no popular clamours

when her affairs should be recovered. — An imitation of this example by the *County Associations* would be much more seasonable, a stronger evidence of their public spirit, and more beneficial to their Country, than any schemes in which they are at present engaged.

could

could conquer. He was every where present in the city, diffusing alacrity and fortitude. New armies were formed. Rome appeared to have gained strength from misfortune, and in a little time, by the valour of her sons, Hannibal was forced to abandon his conquests, and Carthage, at last, to sue for peace.

But to come nearer to our own country and times ; —What situation could be more hopeless than that of the *Dutch*, when their territories were invaded by Lewis XIV. !

In the course of a few weeks this ambitious Monarch reduced the three provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, and Overijssel. Friseland and Groningen were invaded by the bishop of Munster. The maritime provinces, Holland and Zealand, only remained free. Forty fortified cities either opened their gates, or surrendered without terms after a slight resistance. *The Prince of Orange* at this crisis raised the fortitude of his countrymen ; —“ I will expire, said he, in “ the last dyke with the liberties of my country !” The success which attended their efforts will be ever a memorable proof of the happy effects of determined resolution. The United Provinces surmounted their dangers, and regained their freedom and power.

But, if instances of this kind were wanting, we could not have a more illustrious one than in the circumstances and conduct of the king of Prussia during the late war. The situation of this Monarch was at one time so desperate, that no human prudence

dence could foresee how he could extricate himself from his distress. By the treaty of Closterseven the Hanoverians were quite subdued. The French forces, now united, invaded his dominions on one side; the Russians, who for some time had hovered over his dominions in another part, all at once hastened onward to overwhelm him, marking their way with slaughter and cruelty; a large body of Austrians entered Silesia, and penetrated as far as Breslau, and turning to Schweidnitz, sat down before that important fortress, which, after a long siege, surrendered. Another army of the same nation entered Lusatia, made themselves masters of Zittau, and pressing forward, laid the capital of Berlin under contribution. Twenty-two thousand Swedes pierced into Prussian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmein, and exacted tribute from the whole country. It was in vain that the king of Prussia faced about to every invader; though his enemies fled before him while he pursued, another penetrated his territories in the mean time; and his dominions, even in the midst of victory, were every day contracting. The greatest part were either taken or laid under contribution, and possessed by his enemies*. —But the perseverance, skill and bravery of the king at last turned the tide. He gained many victories, and became formidable to his former conquerors.

* Hist. Eng. Series of Letters, vol. ii. p. 242

By examples like these, a brave people may learn not to despond in adversity, but to have recourse to that fortitude and vigour, which (under Heaven) will generally surmount the greatest difficulties.

When a war is of considerable extent and duration, the objects various, the territories large and detached, and the enemies powerful, numerous and active, it is impossible, under the wisest administration, for a state to be invulnerable in all its parts, and successful in all its measures. Thus in the glorious reign of William and Mary, *Tourville* surprized Rook with a convoy of Dutch and English ships (the Smyrna fleet) in the Mediterranean, took three Dutch men of war, and captured or destroyed eighty merchantmen. In the next reign, in 1702, Rook had an opportunity of retaliating on the enemy. With 50 ships of the line, English and Dutch, (and 12,000 troops) he entered the harbour of Vigo, where thirteen galleons lay under the protection of 30 French men of war, broke the boom, took six men of war, sunk seven, and burnt nine; and of the galleons captured nine, and destroyed four.

Happy would be the effect of our public dangers, the perfidy of our enemies, and the unfaithfulness of our allies, if they produced a closer union among ourselves, more vigour and activity, and a warmer zeal for our country. This is the proper use of national misfortunes. Despondence and distrust only render them more destructive.

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I am far from denying the truth of the common opinion, that an opposition is necessary in a free state: but there certainly are bounds which it ought not to pass. To condemn uniformly every measure of a government, is to render the best suspected, or the worst disregarded. It is like poisoning the patient to destroy the credit of a rival physician.

I will not charge the present Opposition with having *intentionally* excited *rebellion* in the Colonies; but I think it is undeniable, that their zealous approbation of the plans and measures of the Congress, and their incautious declarations that it would be folly in them not to resist, contributed much to its birth and increase. These gentlemen may not have been aware of the influence of their characters and stations; but their authority, it is well known, was pleaded with great success, in support of their claims, by the rebel leaders; and the people were taught to look up to the labours of the minority in England as a great means of success.—Had they taken a contrary part, the Congress would probably have been disheartened, and led to offer more reasonable terms. They would have accepted our proposals of conciliation, or at least have lost much of their influence with the people.

But though their conduct at the commencement of the dispute may be justified, yet I think it will be difficult to vindicate their support of the American cause, since the declaration of independence, which they so often pledged themselves to oppose. Exclusively
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however of such their asseverations, a lover of his country would think, that real patriots could want no other reason for supporting the government with vigour and union, than that it was zealously striving to preserve the territories of the state entire, or to rescue them from the usurpation of domestic, and invasion of foreign, foes. Instead of co-operating in this necessary purpose, have not their endeavours been invariably employed to confuse the counsels, depress the spirit, and augment the divisions of the nation? British patriotism supplied America at first with generals * and ambassadors †, and is now become an *asylum* for men, branded with the contempt, and dreading the vengeance of their country.

Baffled in the application of the usual arts of opposition, they have for some time past been trying the dangerous engine of popular conventions and associations. From them they are to collect the VOICE OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, and to its decisions the legislature must submit.

To assemble the people, and to make their judgment and determination of public questions final, may, at first view, appear friendly to liberty: yet, whoever considers the arts by which popular assemblies are managed, how liable they are to imposition, how much influenced by address and declamation, and the difficulty, delay, and disorder, of obtaining

* Generals Lee, Montgomery, and Gates.

† Alderman Lee, Sheriff Sayre, and Dr. Lee.

the sense of a nation by appealing to individuals, especially in an empire of any extent, will pronounce such a scheme to be visionary; or tending to faction and anarchy. In a free state, (to use the words of an excellent writer *) every man, who is supposed to be a *free agent*, ought to be in some measure his own governor, and therefore a branch at least of the legislative power should reside in the whole body of the people. And this power, when the territories of a state are small, and its citizens easily known, should be exercised by the people in their aggregate or collective capacity, as was wisely ordained in the petty republics of Greece, and the first rudiments of the Roman state.

But this will be highly inconvenient when the public territory is extended to any considerable degree, and the number of citizens is increased.—In so large a state as ours, therefore, it is wisely contrived, that the people should do that by their *representatives* which it is impracticable to perform in person; representatives chosen by a number of minute and separate districts, wherein all the voters are, or easily may be, distinguished.

Such is the admirable provision of our constitution for the security of public liberty: and can any man doubt whether this is a safer and better method of ascertaining the sense of the people, than by the crude decisions of tumultuary assemblies? Such conven-

* Blackstone's Commentaries.

tions, summoned by popular leaders, will generally consist of a party, disposed implicitly to assent to the resolutions prepared for them, and recommended by a few inflammatory declaimers. Free debate and deliberate discussion cannot be expected in such assemblies; the multitude will accordingly be exposed to deception, and made the instruments of faction.

—Or, should men who are lovers of their country endeavour to stem the torrent, they will contend with every disadvantage in assemblies called together by the heads of the faction, composed of their dependents and adherents, and prepared to consider and adopt such resolutions only as their leaders may please to propose.—Or, should they pursue the same method of convoking the people and addressing them on public measures; what a scene of contention and confusion must necessarily ensue! Committee would be opposed to committee, association to association, county to county, or a *Congress* perhaps to Parliament. It is idle then in opposition to tell us that their scheme is not attended with danger. It must subject the nation to violent contests; or the people must speak the language which they and their associates may be pleased to dictate.

Let us not be deceived by a mask of patriotism, and a pretended appeal to the people. Is it consistent with freedom of determination and the order of society, that peers and powerful commoners should awe and influence popular assemblies, by their presence

and inflammatory addresses, into an approbation of petitions addressed to themselves as members of the legislative body? Is it a fair method of collecting the sense of the people, when such partizans apply to the interests of their dependents, and employ their engines through the country to solicit a concurrence in their measures? Can the dignity and authority of parliament be preserved, when its members countenance and preside in committees formed to dictate measures to the legislature, and awe it into submission by the dread of popular resentment? Such assemblies, according to the doctrine of their advocates, will be, in effect, vested with supreme authority; and parliament will be made the mere echo of their resolves. For whatever may hereafter come recommended and enforced by the GRAND CONFEDERACY, will want only the forms of law; and a *committee man*, or member of a *county congress*, will be better able to inform us what measures and plans of reformation will be adopted, than our ordinary and constitutional representatives.

It is said, " That the present associations are confined to certain objects, and that there is no danger of their proceeding to any unreasonable lengths." But who will be able to limit their progress? Who is it that will have influence enough when they are heartily engaged in the work of reformation, to select and parcel out the subjects of their discussion? They began with plans of œconomy. These have been
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already followed by schemes for a more equal representation, and for the restoration of annual or triennial parliaments. What they would next propose to reform, I shall not venture to suppose;—but this is evident from the nature and history of mankind, that wherever the body of the people have been seriously and warmly engaged in the business of reformation, and felt their power of modelling and altering as they pleased, they have, with a precipitate inclination, proceeded to demolish, step by step, every prerogative of the ruling powers, until they came to that level which it is impossible to enjoy in an opulent state.

The prerogatives of the ruling powers of the Roman commonwealth (says an ingenious writer*) were in Cæsar's time utterly exhausted; yet were the Romans, at no other age, so universally mad for liberty; by the encouragement of which spirit, that great statesman brought the republic to its final ruin.

There is a truth, he observes, necessary to be taken notice of which Addison in his Cato has concealed with great care: it is, that Cato was the tory and cavalier of his time, who stood up for prerogative; and that Cæsar, while he was planning the destruction of the republic, was the *whig and patron of liberty*, who took every opportunity to extend the privileges of the people, in order to heighten the disorder, that was too far gone. Pompey, who was

* Discourse on Taste, p. 223.

before

before Cæsar the patron of the people, took exactly the same method for the same reason; and from the event we may infer, that there are no limits to the desire of freedom short of the destruction of government; and that there is no stage of government in which men are more impatient for new degrees of liberty, than when the commonwealth is upon the point of dissolution for want of sufficient authority.

I am far from supposing that the persons, in general, who have promoted the measure of associations, are capable of intending any injury to their country. It is from ambitious designing men, who are always ready to take advantage of the public dissensions, that such danger arises. The patriots under Charles I. were as far from intending the convulsions that followed from their opposition, as the king himself. It would be uncharitable to pronounce that the *chairman of the Protestant association* projected the consequences of *his* proceedings. His steps were in imitation of those taken by other associations. Meetings of the people were called in London and other parts of the kingdom. The people were harangued, and taught to believe that the Protestant religion was in danger. Associations and committees were formed, like those of York and Westminster; and the common plan, of influencing the legislature by a number of petitioners, pursued. The chairman of the Westminster committee had assembled his followers in the hall; the chairman of the Protestant association summoned

moned his petitioners to meet in St. George's Fields, from whence they paraded to Westminster, under a strict charge to behave orderly and decently. This they did: But a number of abandoned wretches, and enemies to this country, soon mixed among them, and gathering strength and confidence every moment, at last, under colour of the Protestant cause, committed outrages which—I wish could be blotted from the page of our history.

If the miseries produced by this short reign of discord, have tended to open the eyes of the nation, and to check the boldness of faction, they may be deemed blessings. The language of the leaders of opposition, in their hour of triumph, previous to this disaster, was certainly very alarming *; and the anxiety

* The Reader has here a few instances of the freedom with which they treated the Legislature, and spoke of their own designs.—Speaking of the power of the Crown, Mr. Hartley, in his Letter to the York committee, observes, “ The *Legislature* itself, under that baneful influence, is so far degraded in the public confidence, as to be esteemed little better than the *personal property of the minister* for the time being, and transferable to any successor.”

Mr. Day, in his celebrated speech, tells us, “ that we are reduced to the very brink of despair; and that there is no gleam of hope except from the *rising spirit of the people*, exasperated by an unexampled series of provocations and disgraces.” Mr. Fox, in his speech at Westminster, observed—That he would not say that the House of Commons had passed the point of distinction between being the representatives of the people and the instrument of the Crown:—“ but if they refused to grant the then present petition, if they rejected measures of œconomy—from that moment *they passed the line, from that moment they ceased to be the REPRESENTATIVES of the PEOPLE*, and it was legal, it
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anxiety of their fellow-citizens may certainly be pardoned, when it is remembered that declarations like the following were made publicly by the subalterns of the party: "The intentions of calling together the nobility, gentry, clergy, &c. of the different counties, at this important crisis, is not to carry on the old farce of petitioning for what we know a corrupt ministry will never grant, nor for the purpose of trusting to an unfeeling K— for redress; but for the express *purpose of redressing themselves*;"—after an enumeration of the objects of the associations—"if these blessings cannot be obtained from Parliament, to form a NATIONAL CONVENTION OR CONGRESS, from the several counties, with the *full powers to enforce such regulations* as they may deem necessary for the welfare and existence of this country*."

The spirit of discord has since abated; but is not subdued. The same arts are still industriously employed to engage the nation to waste that vigour in civil contention which should be directed against the

"was constitutional, and necessary for the people to assume that trust which their delegates had thrown off." Again—"The people must be the ministers of their own deliverance, and the road to it was open. They had seen the effect of manly resolution. Their brethren in America and Ireland had taught them how to act when bad men forced them to feel. Shall not we then be equally ready in the moment of alarm to maintain that freedom in which we were born? Shall the heart of the Empire be tame and lifeless, when the limbs are in activity and motion? No! He did not fear it."

* General Advertiser, Jan. 10, 1780.

public enemy. When our united and most active strokes are necessary to stem the tide, they would advise us to *lean on our oars*, and quarrel with one another !

In seasons like this, it is not sufficient for good citizens to avoid contributing to the distresses of their country ; it is their duty to take an *active part* in its service, according to their several stations. It was, in a great measure, by a criminal indolence and neutrality of this nature, that, according to the noble historian, rebellion in his time became triumphant, and the constitution perished.

“ I know not (he observes) how those men have already answered to their own consciences, or how they will answer it to him who can discern their consciences, who, having assumed their country's trust, and it may be with great earnestness laboured to procure that trust, by their supine laziness, negligence, and absence, were the first inlets to those inundations ; and so contributed to those licences which have overwhelmed us. For, by this means, a handful of men, much inferior in the beginning in number and interest, came to give laws to the major part, and, to shew that three diligent persons are really a greater and more significant number than ten unconcerned, they by plurality of voices, in the end, converted or reduced the whole body to their opinions.

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" It is true, he adds, men of activity and faction, in any design, have many advantages, that a composed and settled council, though industrious enough, usually have not, and some that gallant men cannot give themselves leave to entertain: for, besides their thorough considering and forming their counsels before they execute them, they contract a habit of ill nature and disingenuity, necessary to their affairs, and the temper of those upon whom they would work, that liberal minded men would not persuade themselves to entertain, even for the prevention of all the evils the others intend. And whosoever observes the ill arts by which these men used to prevail upon the people in general; their absurd, ridiculous lying to win the affections and corrupt the understandings of the weak, and the bold scandals to confirm the wilful; the boundless promises they presented to the ambitious; and their gross, abject flatteries and applications to the vulgar spirited, would hardly give himself leave to use those weapons for *the preservation of the three kingdoms* *."—So far this excellent character, and I wish his words were impressed on the minds of every person of talents, distinguished station, or of extensive influence in this nation.

There never was a crisis which more demanded UNANIMITY and PUBLIC SPIRIT than the present. Let us therefore endeavour to promote them by ex-

* Clarendon's History,

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citing in ourselves and others a proper sense of the advantages of CIVIL SOCIETY, and the peculiar blessings which we enjoy AS A PEOPLE.

Though the benefits of well regulated *society*, like the ordinary blessings of Providence, are great and obvious, yet men become insensible of them by uninterrupted and familiar possession. It was a custom among the ancient Persians, upon the death of a king, to pass five days in a state of anarchy, as an inducement to be more faithful to his successor, from the experience they acquired of the inconveniencies of anarchy, of the many murders, robberies, and every other mischief with which it is pregnant. Such is the natural prevalence of self-love, that, if men were left to determine their own rights and to punish their own injuries, every person, according to his strength, without regard to the demands of others, would acquire as much as lay within his reach, and carry his revenge far beyond the bounds of equity. In large conventions of men, without some acknowledged superior and umpire, disorder would prevail in proportion to their numbers; and should they associate only in small detached circles, they would soon destroy one another, or be driven into larger associations for defence against a more powerful neighbour. It is by uniting under civil establishments that the human mind becomes strengthened and polished; that the discoveries of different men in

different ages and countries are preserved and communicated ; that the rights of all are ascertained, and defended by public authority ; and the powers and abilities of every citizen devoted to the benefit and protection of the community.

On this account it is that *public spirit and a love of their country* have been, by men of all nations and ages, ranked among the most honourable virtues, and deemed necessary constituents of a great and glorious character. It is not, till luxury and a base degeneracy of manners prevail, that men are found to be indifferent to the welfare and honour of the society of which they are members. In the days of FABRICIUS almost every Roman was possessed of the fortitude and public spirit which we now admire in a *Rodney*, a *Wallace*, a *Farmer*, or a *Collingwood*.

And, as the patriot zeal is most found in times of frugality, temperance and virtue, so it is most conspicuous in those who are remarkable for their talents, magnanimity and generosity : and the want of it is most usually discerned in those who are without these virtues. Is a man regardless of the interest of his country ? Examine his character, and you will generally find him coiled up in selfishness, morose, avaricious and unsocial. Or, is he devoted to the enemies of the state ? Does he rejoice at her misfortunes, and endeavour to diminish her honours ? You will find him, generally, on a close examination, to
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have been disappointed in his ambition, a slave to discontent and envy, or led by pride and arrogance to distinguish himself by an affectation of superior wisdom. If such men have talents, they certainly make a bad use of them, when they employ their influence to weaken those barriers which secure us from private licentiousness and external force, which prevent the base from molesting the industrious, the ambitious from trampling on the humble, and the rapacious from levelling all the distinctions of rank and property !

An indifference to the welfare of the society by which he is protected, is ungenerous and foolish in any man ; but we, fellow citizens, must be peculiarly infatuated if, with our *distinguished natural, civil, and religious advantages*, we are wanting in love to our country. What pretence can we have to the future blessings of Providence, while we are forgetful and ungrateful for those which we enjoy !

I pass over the advantages of our insular situation, the healthfulness of our climate, and the fertility of our soil. We may have every necessary and convenience, and most of the elegancies, of life, independent of the rest of the world. While in most other countries, a few haughty tyrants devour the fruits of the earth, and employ their inferiors as beasts of burden ; here, between the Monarch and the laborious peasant, a pleasing gradation of opulence, grandeur, elegance, neatness,

neatness, plenty, and bold, hardy industry, prevails. The lowest labourer feels a spirit of independence, and is afraid only of disobeying the laws.

If the *arts* and *sciences* are dear to us, they also will plead in favour of our country. In almost every other nation men are restrained from free enquiry, and cannot pursue or publish the truth without danger: but with us the rights of private judgment are sacred. Every man may form his opinions,—not from the dictates of a superior,—but by the light of evidence. Hence it is that we see knowledge so happily diffused amongst us, and men of talents and skill emerging from obscurity, and shining, to their own honour and the public benefit, in the highest spheres of the state. These are some among the many advantages which arise from the excellence of our government, the equity of our laws, and the impartiality with which they are administered. The superior beauty and goodness of our government are granted even by rival nations. Its mixed and well poised powers the politicians of antiquity admired as the most perfect in their theories, but lamented as unattainable. To modern writers on policy it is a model after which they describe the most excellent form of government. Here the law is the measure of every man's right, the avenger of every man's injuries, the protector of the lowest citizen! Punishments are not here inflicted at the discretion of a superior,

superior, but the accused is informed of his crime, and acquitted or condemned by the decision of his equals and neighbours. In short, under no government are the laws more impartially executed, and the subjects better secured in the enjoyment of public liberty, private property, and personal safety !

Let me add also that, as Christians, Protestants, or friends to religion under any other name, we have the strongest reasons to love our country. The liberty of inquiring into the will of God, and worshipping him according to our consciences, is an invaluable blessing, conducing to peace of mind, the discovery of truth, and the growth of unadulterated piety.— And here (blessed be God) religion is sheltered under the wings of an universal toleration ! No vindictive bigot can here call down the arm of the magistrate on his opponents. Religious enquiry courts not concealment, but displays its arguments in the light of noon. The humblest Christian may square his tenets by the Bible, and worship God in whatever mode appears most agreeable to his conscience. Great indeed is this privilege, a blessing as well to the state * as to the individual. Let us therefore, by a love to our country, avoid the charge of being either ignorant

* “ To whom does England owe its fine woollen manufactories ?
 “ To the Walloons who took refuge there under Elizabeth. To
 “ whom is Ireland indebted for its linen manufactories ? To the
 “ French, whom persecution and poverty had forced thither. To
 “ whom

ignorant of its value, or of holding truth and religion in contempt !

Impelled by such forcible motives, a good man will be ready to check every advance of oppression ; but he will be cautious of giving causeless alarms, because he will know that where the peace of society is often disturbed by groundless or frivolous outcries, men will become regardless of the alarms of real danger.

The opposition of a true friend to society may, in most cases, be distinguished from that of the factious and malevolent. Men of the latter stamp catch eagerly at every trifling misconduct, raise minute errors into the highest misdemeanours, and call accidental misfortunes projected grievances. While the former is for his *country*, the latter is for his *party*. The one wishes a *transfer* of power to his *favourites*, the other that it may be *employed* for the *common good*. The public danger excites the one to new diligence in spreading distrust and discord ; but prompts the other

“ whom does the king of Prussia owe his crown, and the means
 “ of supporting it ? To foreigners, whom the humane policy of
 “ the great Elector had attracted thither. Are not the Amaquois,
 “ the Walloons, the French refugees, and the Irish in France, as
 “ faithful subjects as the natives of the country itself ? Disperse
 “ over your country a hundred thousand foreigners ; there will
 “ not be one in the second generation. The more a country is
 “ inhabited, the richer it is. What signifies it then to a prince,
 “ convinced of this maxim, that such foreigners are of such or
 “ such a religion, provided that religion recommends industry
 “ and preaches obedience.” Political Maxims, p. 33.

other to be more active for the preservation of the public peace and welfare *.

If a man be in a superior station, examine whether he endeavours to encourage industry, virtue and religion? Is he cautious not to disseminate principles destructive of the public spirit and morals of the people?

* With what pleasure the Leaders of Rebellion in America contemplate the movements of *opposition*, and the progress of our *associations*, we may see from the following passages extracted from the Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser of Tuesday, May 23, 1780.—“ By letters and accounts received by the French frigate (the *Hermione*) we have good information, that the American states have a clearer and more decided interest in the court of France than ever;—that the *opposition* against the ministry in England encreases daily; and that Ireland is taking fast steps towards independency.”

“ Philadelphia, May 17.

“ Extracts of several letters from a gentleman of good information in Europe.

“ Feb. 25. From the current of the Gazettes it is obvious to remark, of what wonderful efficacy in pulling down tyranny, a committee of correspondence is likely to be; Ireland has done great things by it; England is attempting great things with it, after the example of the Americans, who first taught its use.”—

“ Feb. 27. Parties in England are working up to a crisis. The Petitions of the Counties, their numerous Committees of Correspondence, their bins of associations, have most certainly alarmed the King and his Ministers to a great degree.”—Again:—“ March 4th. Speaking of Admiral Rodney's success, the writer observes, These successes have not, however, suppressed the independent spirit of Ireland, which is going on in a regular train, deliberating upon Bills for the Independence of the Judges, the Habeas Corpus, the restriction of subsidies, and the discipline of their troops, and seems determined to throw off all the authority of the British Parliament; nor that of the Committees of Correspondence and Petitioners in the Counties of England, which threaten associ-

people*? Is he zealous to promote institutions for the advancement of commerce and the general interests of society? When his services are required by his country, is he ready to sacrifice his ease and his resentments at the public shrine? — Or, in the humbler walks of life, is he industrious in his calling, peaceable in his demeanor, and not only obedient to the laws himself, but a promoter of respect to them in others?

These marks of patriotism may indeed be seen in men who are devoid of it in reality; but they are in general stronger proofs of public spirit, than that *discontented and railing disposition*, which destroys mutual confidence, censures all measures uniformly, predicts the worst consequences, renders men the most miserable under the happiest government, and exposes the state to the contempt and insults of its enemies.

The friend of his country will, in particular, give every encouragement to the influence and practice of RELIGION; the surest bond of peace, and best security against public danger.

“ations, and (as the Ministry themselves say) seditions, faction, tumults, and rebellion.”

—We may anticipate from hence, with what new spirit and triumph they will hear of the progress of these associations, of Mr. Fox's and Mr. Day's speech to the people, and of the insurrections and conflagration in the metropolis.

* The Spartans banished a poet from their city for having in one of his pieces said something to this effect, viz. “*That a man had better take care of his life, than lose it for the sake of his country.*”

He

He will treat it as the venerable *parent* of integrity, benevolence, and magnanimity; of a willing obedience to the law, and a fidelity and self-denial which no human institutions can bestow.

He will accordingly encourage PUBLIC WORSHIP as the great preservative of a spirit of *religion* among men; and patronize every plan by which the rising generation may be made pious Christians, useful citizens, and lovers of their country.

Should the state be involved in the difficulties and dangers of WAR, he will not find it hard to determine what course to pursue. I cannot be *wrong*, he will say, when I endeavour to inspire my fellow citizens with a love of their country, with obedience to its laws, and a reverence for the legislature! I cannot be wrong when I exhort them to encounter difficulties with fortitude, and to sacrifice private resentment to public safety!—to remember how much they have to lose! and to employ their zeal and activity—not in dishonourable contentions, but against the enemies of their country—that posterity may not have reason to say—*Thus perished Britain by the folly of her sons—who possessed civil blessings unknown to the rest of mankind, but wanted virtue to preserve them!*

THE
M I S E R I E S
OF
DISSENSION and CIVIL WAR,
An O D E.

The Author flatters himself that the zeal which dictated the following hasty Productions will mitigate the censure which their poetical imperfections may deserve. He has been encouraged by the approbation which his *first poetical publication* ("The Distracted Lover,") received from the MONTHLY CRITICS, to venture forth once more on trembling wings.

INTRODUCTION.

Conduct *and* Character of *Admiral* BLAKE.

AS the Author has introduced the name of BLAKE in the following Poem, he thinks it will not be amiss to mention some particulars of that celebrated Commander, whose example is well fitted to inspire magnanimity, public spirit, and fortitude.

His ruling principle was A LOVE OF HIS COUNTRY. To the advancement of its interest and honour his actions were invariably directed during the dissensions and civil war which, in his time, distracted the state. Danger and difficulties only served to render his abilities, activity and fortitude, more illustrious.

He had a zeal and veneration for the English name and character, rising almost to enthusiasm. We have a striking instance of this in his conduct at Malaga. Some of his sailors, at a procession of the host, behaved with so much disrespect and rudeness, that a
priest

priest encouraged the Spaniards to fall on them and beat them severely. When Blake was informed of this, he demanded the priest of the viceroy, and threatened, on his refusing, to burn the town. The priest was delivered up. He alledged in excuse the insult of the sailors. To this Blake replied; " Had
 " you complained of their behaviour, I would have
 " punished them severely; for I will not permit my
 " sailors to affront the religion of any place: but I
 " would have you and all the world know, that
 " none but an ENGLISHMAN shall chastise an
 " ENGLISHMAN."

" In the month of February, 1651, Blake took a French man of war of forty guns. The Admiral commanded the Captain on board him, and asked him if he was willing to lay down his sword? He answered, he was not: upon which Blake generously bade him return to his ship, and fight it out as long as he was able. The captain took him at his word, fought him bravely for about two hours, and then submitting, went again on board Blake's ship, first kissed, and then presented his sword to the admiral upon his knees."

On the 18th of May, 1652, Van Tromp came into the Downs with a fleet of upwards of forty sail, and met there with a small squadron, under the command of Major Bourne, to whom the admiral sent word, that he was forced in by stress of weather;
 Bourne

Bourne answered roundly, that the truth of this would appear by the shortness of his stay; and immediately sent advice of it to his admiral. The next day Van Tromp, with his fleet, bore down upon Blake in Dover road, and on his coming near him, Blake fired thrice at his flag; upon which the Dutch admiral returned a broadside. For near four hours *Blake was engaged almost alone*, but by degrees the weather permitted his fleet to come in, and then they behaved bravely. Towards the close of the engagement, which lasted from four in the afternoon till nine at night, Bourne joined him with his eight ships, upon which the enemy bore away.

In this battle the victory was clearly on the side of the English, as the Dutch writers themselves confess, there being two Dutch ships taken and one disabled; whereas the English lost none: and yet the inequality in force was very great; for the Dutch fleet consisted at first of *forty-two ships*, and Blake's only of FIFTEEN; and even at the end of the fight he had no more than *twenty-three* *.

Having concluded the Dutch war by reducing the imperious Hollanders, in less than two years, to far greater extremities than their fourscore years war with Spain, and having humbled the pride of France, he, in the spring of 1654, sailed into the Straits, to

* Naval History, vol. ii. p. 16, and 66.

procure satisfaction from such princes and states as, by taking advantage of its disputes, had insulted his country or injured its commerce. For this purpose he went first to Leghorn, where he very soon settled our accounts with the Grand Duke, and obliged him to refund about 60,000*l.*—From thence, proceeding to Africa, he anchored without the mole of Algiers on the 10th of March, and demanded the immediate release of all captives belonging to his nation, with a recompence for the piracies they had formerly committed. The Dey answering very modestly, that the slaves and ships were now the property of private persons, from whom he could not take them; but, that they should speedily be redeemed; and, that he was desirous of treating with him to prevent any farther hostilities; the admiral sailed away for Tunis, and sent a like message to the Bey, who returning him no answer but this very concise defiance, “Here
“are our castles of Gulletta and Porto Farino; you
“may do your worst; we do not fear you;” Blake entered the bay, and came within musket-shot of the castle and line, upon both which he played so warmly, that they were soon in a defenceless condition. There were then nine ships in the road, which the admiral resolved to burn; and with this view ordered every captain to man his long-boat with choice men. These were directed to enter the harbour and fire the ships of Tunis, while he and his
fleet

fleet covered them from the castle by playing continually on it with their cannon.—The seamen in their boats boldly assaulted the Corsairs, and burnt all their ships, with the loss of 25 men killed and 48 wounded. This daring action spread the terror of his name through Africa and Asia, and prevented the least obstructions to his negotiating an advantageous peace with Tripoly; from whence returning to Tunis, and threatening to do farther execution of his vengeance on the inhabitants, they now, in most abject terms, implored his mercy from their works, and begged him to grant them peace; which he did on conditions very mortifying to them and very profitable to his country.

“ In the month of April, 1657, being on a cruize in the Straits, he was informed of a Plate fleet, which had put into the haven of Santa Cruz in the island of Teneriff: he immediately sailed thither and found the flota, consisting of six galleons very richly laden, and ten other vessels. The latter lay within the port, with a strong barricado before them; the galleons without the boom, because they drew too much water to lie within it. The port itself was strongly fortified, having on the north a large castle well supplied with artillery, and seven forts united by a line of communication, well lined with musketeers. The Spanish governor thought the place so secure, and his own dispositions so well made, that when the master of a

Dutch ship desired leave to sail, because he apprehended Blake would presently attack the ships in the harbour, the Spaniard answered tartly, "Get you gone, if you will; and let Blake come if he dares."

The admiral, after viewing the enemy's preparations, called a council of war, wherein it was resolved to attempt destroying the enemy's ships, for it was impossible to bring them off; and to this end he sent captain Stayner with a squadron to attack them, who soon forced his passage into the bay, while other frigates played on the forts and line, and hindered them from giving the ships much disturbance. Stayner's squadron was quickly supported by Blake with the whole fleet, who boarded the Spanish galleons, and in a few hours made himself master of them all, and then set them on fire; so that the whole Spanish fleet was burnt down to the water's edge, except two ships which sunk outright; and then the wind veering to S. W. he passed with his fleet safe out of the port again, losing in this dangerous attempt no more than forty-eight men killed, and having about 120 wounded. It was without question the boldest undertaking of its kind that had ever been performed; and the Spaniards, who are romantic enough in their own conduct, were so much astonished at his, that they quite lost their spirits, and thenceforward never thought themselves safe either from numbers or fortifications."

Though

Though it is generally granted that he was unfortunate in his political connections; yet his integrity and love of his country are universally admired. Men of all parties forget his mistakes when they think on the merit of his intentions, and the safety and honour which the state derived from his services. We would draw a veil over his errors;—but hold up his ardour, his indefatigable zeal, his enthusiasm for the welfare and glory of his country, and his abilities and fortitude as a commander, for the imitation of the present times.

“ Notwithstanding (says Dr. Campbell) all the changes that happened in the government, this was the method our admiral took to keep the seamen quiet. He told them, it was his and their business *to act faithfully, and to do their duty to their country*, whatever irregularities there might be in the councils at home: And he would often say amongst his officers, that *state affairs were not their province; but that they were bound to keep foreigners from fooling us.*

“ To shew what respect the *royalists* had for him, we need only mention the characters that have been given of him, since they come all, or far the greatest part of them, from persons of that party. The Earl of Clarendon asserts, “ He was the first man who despised those rules which had been long in practice, —to keep his ship and men out of danger—as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been

been to be sure to come safe home again. He was the first man who brought ships to contemn castles, which were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could be rarely hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see, by experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved; and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water."

Dr. Bate, in drawing his character, says, "He was a man deserving praise, even from an enemy. —Being advanced to a command at sea, he subdued the Scilly Islands near home; and having attained the office and title of an admiral, performed things worthy of immortal memory abroad; for he humbled the pride of France, reduced Portugal to reason, broke the naval force of Holland, and drove them to the shelter of their own ports; suppressed the rovers of Barbary, and twice triumphed over Spain." —And honest Anthony Wood, who observes he was admired and applauded by the royalists, in his blunt manner, adds Dr. Campbell, thus celebrates his praise:—"He was a man wholly devoted to his country's service, resolute in undertakings, and most faithful in performing them. With him, valour seldom missed its reward, nor cowardice its punishment. Though he tenderly loved his brother, captain Benjamin Blake, and made him his heir, yet he removed him from the command of a ship for being guilty

guilty of some misbehaviour in the celebrated action at Santa Cruz."—"This was such an instance of disinterested discipline as must have had a very strong effect on the minds of all who served under him; so that we need not wonder such extraordinary things were performed by men so strictly tied to their duty. The officer who will do justice upon his brother, will be generally feared, highly admired, and yet sincerely beloved. His sailors (continues Campbell) will be ready to undertake any thing at his command, and his acts of courage will so far transcend what happens amongst the trifling and debauched posterity even of those heroes, that they will be glad, rather than imitate, to style that temerity which, in its day, passed only for a bold attempt."—To conclude, in the words of Hume,—“Disinterested, generous, liberal, ambitious only of true glory, dreadful only to his avowed enemies, he forms one of the most perfect characters of the age, and the least stained with those errors and violences which were then so predominant. The late usurpations (amidst all the trust and caresses which he received from the ruling powers) were thought to be very little grateful to him.—*It is still our duty*, he said to the seamen, *to fight for our country, into what hands soever the government may fall.*”

O! si quis volet impias
Cædes et rabiem tollere civicam;
Si quæret pater urbium
Subscribi statuis; indomitam audeat
Refrænare Licentiam
Clarus postgenitis.

Hor.

THE
M I S E R I E S
OF
DISSENSION and CIVIL WAR.

O For a Muse that might inspire
The Patriot zeal, the martial fire,
Which glow'd in BLAKE's intrepid breast,
When *Britain's* naval Chiefs the Heroe thus address'd ;
“ To Statesmen leave intestine jars,
“ Their clashing schemes and wordy wars ;
“ Ours be, my gallant Friends ! the nobler aim,
“ To crush *Britannia's* foes, and spread her well-earn'd fame !
“ Tho' storms of raging FACTION blow
“ The reeling *State-Ship* to and fro,
“ Yet, as the Needle to the Pole,
“ True to his *Country's Cause* shall prove each Patriot Soul.”

—For lo!—beyond the Western main,
 (Where erst the astonish'd Indian saw
 Gay Cities spreading o'er the plain,
 The peaceful Arts and equal Law,
 Fair fruits of *Britain's* genial reign!
 The swelling Dome and crowded Mart appear,
 Where slept the oozy lake, and gloom'd the forest drear)

REBELLION drives her thund'ring Car,
 Bath'd in the crimson stream of War,
 And waves a hallow'd banner high,
 Stol'n from the Mount of Liberty!
 —She blows a trump, whose jarring sound
 Can Truth's persuasive strains confound,
 And break each soul-commanding tie
 Of social Love and Harmony.

—Beside her sits, with Heav'n-fix'd Eye
 And honied Lips, HYPOCRISY!
 Hiding her Dagger keen from sight
 Under her robes of purest white.
 Around, in savage triumph, wait
 Envy and unforgiving Hate;

Revenge,

Revenge, who bends his ravish'd ear
 The groans of dying foes to hear,
 Who joys the Son to sacrifice
 Before the captiv'd Father's eyes,
 And hastes his murd'rous hands to stain
 With the warm Heart's-blood of the slain !
Licence and *Rapine*, hand in hand,
 Prowl boldly o'er the fenceless land,
 And waste in wanton sports the spoil
 Torn from the hoards of hardy Toil.
 Before her scourging Furies,— fly
 Peace, Order, Law, and Liberty :
 Firm LOYALTY, with many a wound,
 Expires ;—or, on the dank cold ground,
 Gall'd and press'd down with long-worn chains,
 In silence ruminates his pains ;
 Whilst *Pity*, stealing near him, fears
 To pay the tribute of her tears.

Ah ! dire effect of Civil Rage !
 Fathers with Sons in cruel war engage !

The MAID prepar'd, in all her charms,
 To clasp her Lover in her arms,
 Beholds him bleeding on the Bier,
 Pierc'd by her Brother's fatal spear;
 Who sternly chides her rising woe,
 Her fond complainings for her Country's Foe.—

Yes, beauteous Mourner! let thy sorrows flow;
 Thy loose disorder'd tresses tear,
 And yield thy soul to wild despair,
 Thus, haply, may'st thou, by an early grave,
 That virgin form from savage carnage save!

Ah, bliss denied! I hear, I hear,
 The rending yell that speaks the *Sachem** near!
 No eloquence of virgin woe
 Can stop his swift-descending blow;
 No pray'rs, no tears of rev'rend age,
 Abate his life-pursuing rage;
 He views his dying prey with ghastly smile,
 Then from her mangled head tears off his bloody spoil.

* An Indian Chief,

—O thou,

—O thou, beneath whose genial ray
Hate's hell-born Furies melt away !
 Whose soul-subduing sounds to hear,
 Stern *Valour* leans upon his spear,
 Or, stretch'd beneath the olive shade,
 Drops from his hand the crimson'd blade,
 SWEET PEACE ! *return* ;—our wounds domestic heal,
 Infusing Pity's balm, and Love-attemper'd zeal !
 Thy blest return brown *Industry* invokes,
 As o'er the plains the *sword* and *spade* he wields,
 Or from his empty car the steeds unyokes,
 Robb'd of the scanty gleanings of his fields.
 The *widow'd mourner*, stranger now to rest,
 Oft silent musing by the pensive urn,
 Clasps her fond playful infant to her breast,
 Then drops a tear, sweet Peace ! for thy return,
 —In vain ! In vain ! Too late, unhappy land !
 Thou mourn'st the loss of PEACE, and *Britain's* mild
 command,

What

What gentle arts can soothe the force
 Of mad REBELLION's headlong course?
 What wisdom can her stormy sea controul,
 And say—No farther shall thy proud waves roll?
 Timid at first—with fraudulent smiles,
 She truth and innocence beguiles;
 But, proud with gather'd strength, her frantic rage,
 No suppliant pray'rs, no blandishments assuage;
 With new and bolder crimes she spreads her sway,
 And bears Law, Order, Pity, Peace, away!
 Thus when some trav'ler tempts the treach'rous stream,
 (Near where the impetuous torrents sweep
 Thund'ring amain down Niagara's * steep,)
 Secure at first he views the silver beam

Dancing

* A considerable river in America, that forms a communication between those two amazing lakes, the Erie and the Ontario; each of which is said to be, at least, two hundred leagues in circumference; but the passage is interrupted by a stupendous ridge of rocks that occasions what is called *The Falls of Niagara*, the largest cataract in the world. Here the river, which is about a mile in width, is crossed by this ridge in the form of a crescent; and from hence (a perpendicular of one hundred and forty-six feet) the water is whirled, with most astonishing impetuosity, upon the rocks below; from whence rebounding again into the

air,

Dancing along the glassy tide ;
 —But soon the currents swifter glide,
 And hurl his light bark from the shore ;
 The woods, the rocks, the meadows bright,
 Glance fleetly from his aching sight :—
 —Aghast he hears the foamy cataract roar !
 He plies his oars, alas ! in vain,
 The tide to stem, the shore to gain ;
 'Till whirl'd astounded from the mountain's height,
 Crush'd with the deluge vast, he sinks to endless night.

air, it, by those violent agitations, is converted into foam as white as snow, which, when the sun coincides with the spectator's situation, has the appearance of a rainbow, while the noise of the fall is often heard, like thunder, at the distance of fifteen miles.—No words can express the consternation of travellers on seeing such a vast body of water thus violently thrown from this dreadful precipice ; and every thing swimming across the current above (whether intoxicated Indians, or beasts, or fowls) hurled suddenly through the cataract and dashed to pieces below. Perhaps, no other spot in the world is visited by such multitudes of eagles as resort to this place for the carnage of deer, elks, bears, &c. thus frequently killed.

The French erected strong forts on those straits, by which all the principal lakes in North America communicate with each other, as well as on those through which their waters are emptied into the river St. Lawrence.—Thus the French, for some years, effectually secured to themselves all the trade of these lakes, and an influence upon all the nations that lie near them ; but, by the irresistible exertions of *unanimity and public spirit* in the last war, the whole of this country, like every other which we attempted in America, was totally subdued in 1759, and ceded to us by the peace of 1763.

Vengeance

Vengeance seize the guilty band !

Traitors to their native land,

Who wit and eloquence employ

Not to save,—but to destroy !

Who hide with flow'rs the venom'd dart,

Prepar'd to pierce their parent's heart,

Rouze and incite their country's foe,

And guide and aid the deadly blow !

—'Twas not enough that *Discord's* brand

Flam'd widely o'er the western land ;

Lur'd by their hell-born arts, her mad'ning train,

Wav'd her black ensigns o'er the British plain !

I saw ! I saw, profan'd by hostile feet,

AUGUSTA's peopled haunts ! the *Empire's sacred Seat* !

Fierce rush'd the Furies, eager to destroy,

And tofs'd their torches high, and roar'd with savage joy !

Licence and *Murder* heard the grateful sound,

As, in their cells, they mourn'd Hope's banish'd ray ;

—Then, from the clanking chains of Death unbound,

Stalk'd fearless forth to seize their helpless prey :

Her

Her vulture wings insatiate RAVAGE spread,

Hov'ring to see the carnage dire begun,

Whilst LAW and ELOQUENCE in silence fled,

And pensive trembled for their darling son.

Pale CREDIT saw the keen rapacious race

With glowing zeal her *hallow'd dome* surround,

Prepar'd to heave her statue from its base,

And give to Albion's weal the mortal wound !

—Ill-fated ALBION ! doom'd to feel

The direful force of factious zeal !

What griefs are thine !—what various woes

From faithless sons and ruthless foes !

Where are the friends, th' associates, fled,

For whom thy gallant chiefs have bled ?

They, they,—O shame to holy ties !

Ev'n *they* in hostile vengeance rise !

As some brave Pilot, by his treach'rous band,

Left on a lonely rock, remote from land,

Undaunted hears the tempests round him beat

And rising billows break beneath his feet ;

So, whilst thy foes, with vengeful pride
 Press threat'ning on from ev'ry side;
 Whilst war and civil rage the scene deform,
 Friendless and unsustain'd, thou brav'st the furious storm.

O, by your *Country's* awful name!

By your *Sires*, of matchless fame,

By the Heav'n-descended blaze

Freedom's vestal lamp displays!

(Bright boon! to *Britain's* care consign'd

With *ceaseless* beams to bless mankind!)

By the tears of *Pity*—shed

O'er the bleeding *Warrior's* bed!

By the wreath of deathless bloom

Which *Honour* holds o'er Valour's tomb!

By the pure unconquer'd fires,

Which *Virtue's* sacred cause inspires!

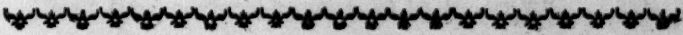
Rouze, Britons, rouze! with native ardour glow;

Avenge your Country's wrongs!—repel th' imperious foe!

THE

THE
TRUE PATRIOT,
AN
O D E,

INSCRIBED TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
GENERAL EARL CORNWALLIS,
AND THE HONOURABLE
ADMIRAL RODNEY.



Merſes profundo, pulchrior evenit;

Luſtere, multâ proruit integrum

Cum laude victorem, geritque

Prælia conjugibus loquenda.

HOR.

THE
TRUE PATRIOT.

FAR! far! be Faction's partial train,
Who Honour's hallow'd wreath profane
To deck the wretch who spurns each social claim,
His Country's sacred rights and dear-bought fame!
Say, what avails superior native sense,
Creative genius, forceful eloquence,
If not controll'd by virtue's equal laws,
If not devoted to the public cause?
More fatal pests to peace and social joys!
Like the keen lightning's blaze which dazzles and destroys!

But

But HIM each free-born honest Muse
 Delights to sing with glowing strains,
 Whose soul,—unknowing mean and partial views,
 Censure or praise *unmerited* disdains,
 And with bold, steady aim his Country's good pursues,

On him a nation's hopes attend,
 For him a nation's pray'rs ascend;
 Bright object of the public eye!
 Like some tall tow'r's propitious LIGHT,
 Which, thro' the wildering glooms of night,
 Th' exulting *Mariners*—long tost
 Upon the stormy main—descry
 Fair streaming from their destin'd coast,

The gen'rous, heav'n-aspiring mind,
 Disdains to waste in sloth life's fleeting days;
 But, fir'd with public love and honest praise,
 Pants by heroic deeds to leave behind
 A name to virtue dear, and blest by human kind:

Him the admiring crowd beholds,
 —When WAR her crimson flag unfolds,

With

With martial zeal that scorns to yield,
 Braving the fiercest horrors of the field ;
 Then learn with kindred flame to glow,
 And rush impatient on the num'rous foe !

 Or,—crown'd with honours,—to his rural seat
 Retiring calm, when PEACE renews her reign,
 He tastes domestic joys and quiet sweet,
 Encircled by his much-lov'd youthful train ;
 Then, as with rival zeal to please,
 They eager press around his knees,
 With joy their growing virtues fees,
 Recounts the story of each scar,
 His toils thro' countries distant far,
 The feats and wond'rous deeds of war ;
 —At which his *consort*  ,
 Now smiles with joy,  with fear,
 Now hides the pity-streaming tear !
 While their young bosoms catch the martial flame,
 And long to climb, like him, the steep ascent of fame !

 —Such were the *Heroes* who triumphant bore
Britannia's standard to each hostile shore,

(From

(From where the sun's directer beam
 Blazes on *Ganges'* sacred stream,
 Or where *Laurentius'* icy islots gleam,
 To where majestic *Mississippi* * leads,
 Midst endless mountains and luxuriant meads,
 His copious rivers,—swelling in their course,
 Till, urg'd amain by their collective force,
 Old *Ocean* from his coral bed recedes.)

—*Amberst*, in martial counsels wise,
 Renown'd for bloodless victories !
 And *He* †, whom,—rapt in silent awe,
 The feather-cinctur'd warriors saw
 Expiring on COLUMBIA's † plains,
 To free her sons from Gallic chains ;

* The *Mississippi* and *St. Laurence* in North America, flow in such spacious channels, that, long before they feel the influence of the tide, they resemble *arms of the sea* rather than rivers of fresh water. Robertson's Hist. of America.

† General Wolfe.

‡ “Columbia's plains”—i. e. America, from the name of its first discoverer Christopher Columbus. Dr. Douglas, (observing the injustice of naming the western continent after Americus Vesputius instead of Columbus) in his blunt manner, says,—“Here is a notable instance of the caprice of mankind in giving this newly discovered continent the name America instead of Columbia : “Americus made no settlement; Columbus was not only the first, but also the more general discoverer of this land.”

Who

Who blest his Country with his latest breath,
And, at her well-earn'd triumph, smil'd in death;

They too who led her NAVAL train,
And hurl'd her bolts resistless o'er the main;

Boscawen!—ever-honour'd name,
And *Hawke*! unrivall'd in the lists of fame;
Dejected GALLIA heard their thunders roar,
And wept the fate of ev'ry subject shore;
Her crush'd ambition, her imprison'd coast,
Her vanquish'd navy, and her commerce lost!

Seated sublime on Cuba's loftiest steep,
IBERIA'S *Genius*, o'er th' Atlantic deep,

Saw *Britain's* banners wave,

“ Adieu, (she cried) my long-acknowledg'd reign!

“ *Potosi's Mines*, and *Mexico's* domain,

“ Will soon reward the Brave!”

—Genius of ALBION! smile again,

Affert thy empire o'er the main!

—Yet feel thy sons th' unconquer'd fires

Which thine and freedom's cause inspires,

H

Yet

Yet bloom thy laurels ! yet is RODNEY thine,
 In whom thy best-lov'd heroes' pow'rs combine !
 The ever-wakeful mind, the patriot glow,
 The dauntless, daring soul, terrific to the foe !
 —Witness ye fleets of haughty France !
 That saw his gallant ship advance,
 While on the deck the Heroe stood,
 With glowing ardour for his Country's good,
 The num'rous foes, with steady soul, survey'd
 Amid the flames of war serene and undismay'd !
 So the strong steel's high-rai'd *Electric Spire*,
 (Which guards some temple from th' etherial fire)
 While down its sides the livid *lightning* strays,
 Firm and unyielding stands amid the awful blaze.

What toils, what dangers can subdue
Britons, to honour and their Country true ?
 Elate with hope, with numbers vain,
 The *Rebel Chiefs* on Camden's plain

Saw

Saw brave *Cornwallis* nigh :

“ Haste, haste, they cried, Defeat!—Pursue!

“ To Death the victims give—too few

“ To grace our victory !”

Firm as TYRTÆUS’ * *Spartan Band*,

Impatient for the bold command,

The *British Warriors* stood :

—Then rush’d resistless like a mountain flood,

Thro’ the deep, crouded squadrons forc’d their way,

And o’er the rebel hosts spread rout and wild dismay.

Midst labours, perils, and increasing foes,

The martial breast with rising ardour glows,

More pleasing Death than Flight inglorious counts,

And Woes, resistless deem’d, by dauntless Zeal surmounts :

* The Lacedæmonians, engaged in a bloody war with the Messenians, having been repeatedly defeated, were inspired with so much resolution by the eloquence of their General *Tyrtæus* (an Athenian poet) that they determined to *conquer or die* in the cause of their Country. Solicitous only about their burial, every man fixed a ticket upon his right arm, which declared his own name and that of his family, and they then marched boldly against their enemies. The battle was one of the most obstinate and bloody which we have any account of in history: but at last the Spartan courage obtained the victory.

Awhile

(60)

Awhile might Fortune's adverse cloud
The *British Heroe's* radiance shroud :
But soon, with undiminish'd light,
He burst upon our anxious fight,
Dispell'd the transient glooms with steady beam,
And gilds his *western* course with *Glory's* brightest stream.

F I N I S.

